



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission and at other localities in Massachusetts. While this is proper and praiseworthy, it seems to me that the influences which the ideals and principles of the Pilgrims with respect to civic liberty and human rights have had upon the formation and growth of our institutions and upon our development and progress as a nation merits more than a local expression of our obligation, and makes fitting a nation-wide observance of the day.

"I therefore suggest and request that the 21st of December next we observe throughout the Union with special patriotic services, in order that great events in American history that have resulted from the landing of these hearty and courageous navigators and colonists may be accentuated to the present generation of American citizens. Especially do I recommend that the day be fittingly observed in the universities, colleges, and schools of our country, to the end that salutary and patriotic lessons may be drawn from the fortitude and perseverance and the ideals of this little band of church men and women who established on this continent the first self-determined government based on the great principle of just law and its equal application to all, and thus planted the seeds from which has sprung the mighty nation.

"In witness thereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done in the District of Columbia, the fourth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-fifth.

"WOODROW WILSON."

## THE AALAND ISLANDS \*

### Finland's Case Against Sweden

By PROFESSOR R. A. WREDE

[Professor Wrede is Chancellor of Abo University and late President of the Finnish High Court.—EDITOR.]

**A**ALAND BELONGS to Finland—

Geographically: Open sea on one side, the archipelago on the other.

Historically: Because it has been administratively, juridically, and ecclesiastically united with Finland or with districts of Finland, and that during the centuries of union with Sweden.

Nationally: Because the Aalanders belong to the Swedish stock in Finland, not to that in Sweden, even if the sentiment of relationship has not been very strong as a result of Aaland's isolated situation.

Legally: Aaland was not ceded in 1809 in a different manner from the rest of Finland, though it is named in the Treaty of Peace in the same way as the other provinces. Aaland belonged to Finland when united with Russia, and was, as a part of it, liberated from Russian sway. When Finland independence was recognized by the Powers, this implied a recognition of Finland, including Aaland. A decision of the Powers to separate Aaland from Finland would, therefore, amount to a retraction of this part of the recognition. That Sweden

does so as a litigant is explicable, but other disinterested Powers ought not to recall in this way a declaration once made, if no reason for doing so is given by Finland. Sweden has no right to Finland. It renounced its rights in 1809, and no new title has accrued.

Aaland is necessary to Finland. If it is in the possession of a foreign Power, Finland will be unable, in case of war, to prevent hostile fleets from sailing into the Gulf of Bothnia, whose coasts will be exposed to attack. Nor will Finland itself be able to maintain communication between the Finnish and Bothnian gulfs, which is, however, vital to Finland, as was seen in 1918. It is impossible to maintain a frontier through a labyrinth of skerries and rocks.

### THE SELF-DETERMINATION ARGUMENT

Aaland's population has no right to tear loose its islands from their union with Finland and to unite them with Sweden. Such an interpretation of the principle of the independence of nationalities is impossible. If every, even the smallest, fragment of a nationality in a country is granted the right to separate the territory it inhabits from the State to which it belongs, and to unite it with another State, it would be impossible to keep any fixed frontiers or durable State territory. No State could recognize such claims. Nor can the Aalanders complain of oppression, and least of all now, when they have received a self-government unparalleled in any province of any State in Europe. This offers as great protection against denationalization as can be secured by legal enactment. If Aaland, in spite of it, is denationalized, it will be the fault of the Aalanders for not better preserving their Swedish culture.

It has been said that Finland, when it emancipated itself from Russia, itself appealed to the right of self-determination. This was not, however, the principle of the step it took. The principle of Finland's action depended on the fact that Russia had completely broken the conditions and stipulations subject to which Finland was united to that country, that Finland was exposed to a régime of oppression and denationalization which menaced the people's very existence, and that its only safety lay in separation or liberation from Russia. The legality of that step was further confirmed by the fact that Russia, at the time it was taken, had not a recognized government or responsible central authority; wherefore the people of Finland were compelled to take its fate into their own hands. This was, in such a situation, not only a right, but even a duty. That nothing of the kind can be averred in respect to Aaland's situation in regard to Finland is evident; not to speak of the fact that the people of Finland are and have long been a nation or a people in a political sense, which the Aalanders have never been.

In the question of Sweden's claims it may be added that if Sweden before had no right to Aaland, its behavior to Finland during the war of liberation was such that it has not thereby improved its cause. The so-called humanitarian expedition of 1918 was, as has been revealed, intended to create a *fait accompli* by the occupation of the archipelago by Swedish troops. Sweden avoided taking the part of the lawful Finland against the rebels, and maintained as long as possible a watching and undecided attitude, but its measures, both in the

\* See *Manchester Guardian*, September 3, 1920.

matter of the expedition mentioned and in providing arms, were more against than in favor of the lawful Finland. And the encouragement that the Swedish Government has given to the Separatist movement in Aaland involves directly hostile measures against Finland.

### FOREIGN DEBT, \$9,450,551,005\*

**T**WO STEEL drawers in the United States Treasury at Washington, each about the size of an ordinary suitcase, contain the I O U's of foreign nations for the aggregate sum of \$9,450,551,005.61. These papers, which are actually certificates of indebtedness, are what Uncle Sam holds in acknowledgment of the loans made during the great war to our allies—or, rather, technically speaking, our associates.

The documents, pieces of engraved parchment about 10 by 14 inches in size, and signed with such names as Jusserand, Boris Bakhmetieff and Cecil Spring-Rice, are weighted down with formidable-looking .45-caliber revolvers. They repose in a barred and secluded room of the Treasury awaiting their redemption by the borrowers from this country.

By degrees the allies are said to be canceling their loans. It is a lengthy process, however, attended by many discussions and complications. The matter of interest charges and the fluctuating rate of foreign exchange confuse the deliberations.

#### WAR LOANS MADE BY THE TREASURY

|                | Cash advanced.     | Repaid.          | Balance.           |
|----------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Great Britain  | \$4,277,000,000.00 | \$80,181,641.56  | \$4,196,818,358.44 |
| France         | 2,987,477,800.00   | 31,449,357.55    | 2,956,028,442.45   |
| Italy          | 1,631,338,986.99   | .....            | 1,631,338,986.99   |
| Belgium        | 349,214,467.89     | 10,000.00        | 349,204,467.89     |
| Russia         | 187,729,750.00     | .....            | 187,729,750.00     |
| Czechoslovakia | 60,524,041.10      | .....            | 60,524,041.10      |
| Serbia         | 26,780,465.56      | 605,326.34       | 26,175,139.22      |
| Rumania        | 25,000,000.00      | 1,794,180.48     | 23,205,819.52      |
| Greece         | 10,000,000.00      | .....            | 10,000,000.00      |
| Cuba           | 10,000,000.00      | 500,000.00       | 9,500,000.00       |
| Liberia        | 26,000.00          | .....            | 26,000.00          |
| Total          | \$9,565,091,511.54 | \$114,540,505.93 | \$9,450,551,005.61 |

A calculation made by the Treasury, dated August 31 last, shows that the debt at that time totaled \$9,450,551,005.61. In the beginning it was \$9,565,091,511.54, but six of the debtor nations have made payments amounting in all to \$114,540,505.93. These nations include Great Britain, which has paid \$80,181,000 out of a total indebtedness of \$4,277,000,000; France, which has reduced a debt of \$2,987,000,000 by \$31,449,000; Roumania, which has paid \$1,794,000 of a total loan of \$25,000,000, and Belgium, which has paid \$10,000 of a loan of nearly \$350,000,000.

Serbia and Cuba have also paid small portions of their debt. Italy, owing more than one and one-half billions; Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Liberia have paid nothing; nor has Russia, and the probabilities are that the money due from that country will not be recovered for a long time, if ever.

Treasury officials are not inclined to discuss the loans

nor the progress of their collections. This is not because of a desire to shut off information from the public, but because delicate negotiations are being constantly conducted with the debtor nations. There is continual danger of treading on somebody's diplomatic toes.

One vexing question connected with the war loans is the collection of interest upon them. Practically all the money was lent at five per cent. The interest falls due from time to time. It is not always paid. Now and then Congress prods the Treasury and wants to know what is going on in the collection of interest. A statement made by Treasury officials last March to a Congressional committee showed that \$433,074,799.73 had been paid in interest; that interest due in October and November, 1919, and amounting to \$236,240,114.90, was still overdue, and that the total interest for the fiscal year 1920 would amount to \$463,215,613.06.

The advances to foreign governments were made for purchases of war supplies in the United States, including food for civilian relief. No advances for any purposes have been made by the Treasury since May, 1919. However, the original commitments still hold, and payments upon these have been made by the United States to the foreign countries.

About \$97,000,000 still remains in the Treasury to the credit of foreign nations. While \$9,565,091,511.54 has been paid out, the original sum authorized as a loan amounted to \$9,710,525,310.56, and certain nations have a claim against the balance due them. On the other hand, this Government hold claims against some of those nations to the amount of \$48,000,000, which will cut the balance practically in half.

The Treasury has established a policy whereby no money will be lent to foreign nations from these balances, so that they may pay their interest out of the sum, so it is said. The nations must pay the interest themselves. They have not been delivering it lately, and negotiations concerning the matter are proceeding slowly and with great care.

Certain critics of the Treasury insist that the foreign countries should be pressed for interest charges; but the Treasury, while silent on the subject, appears, from outward appearances at least, to hold that it is useless to demand money from those who cannot pay. It seems to be the old story of the bloodless turnip.

The loans made to the allies are well-nigh all due for immediate payment, or, in the vernacular, "on demand." Authority granted under the First Liberty Loan act allows the Treasury to change this demand to long-time obligations. But it is said that the demand time-limit still exists.

The United States is said to owe France \$435,000,000 for railway transport charges and \$3,000,000 for port charges. The War Department purchased certain large supplies in France. Sums are also owed for transport of men and material. These figures have not yet been made public.

To offset the obligations on the part of this country, there have been sales for cash and credit by the United States, both to the allies during the war and to the new nations since that time. Herbert Hoover is said to have received about \$80,000,000 in obligations from foreign nations for foodstuffs. The Grain Corporation was authorized to sell 5,000,000 barrels of flour on credit. The

\* Story taken from *New York Times* of September 26.